

The copyright © of this thesis belongs to its rightful author and/or other copyright owner. Copies can be accessed and downloaded for non-commercial or learning purposes without any charge and permission. The thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted as a whole without the permission from its rightful owner. No alteration or changes in format is allowed without permission from its rightful owner.



**RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT: AN EXAMINATION OF  
MULTINATIONAL JOINT TASK FORCE AND THE FIGHT  
AGAINST INSURGENCY IN THE LAKE CHAD BASIN,  
2009-2017**



**UUM**  
**ABDULLAHI ADAMU**  

---

**Universiti Utara Malaysia**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA  
2020**

**RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT: AN EXAMINATION OF  
MULTINATIONAL JOINT TASK FORCE AND THE FIGHT  
AGAINST INSURGENCY IN THE LAKE CHAD BASIN,  
2009-2017**



**ABDULLAHI ADAMU (902122)**

**A thesis submitted to the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of  
Government in fulfilment of the requirements for the  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Universiti Utara Malaysia**



Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa  
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)  
**UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA**

**PERAKUAN KERJA TESIS / DISERTASI**  
(Certification of thesis / dissertation)

Kami, yang bertandatangan, memperakukan bahawa  
(We, the undersigned, certify that)

**ABDULLAH ADAMU (902122)**

calon untuk Ijazah **Ph.D**  
(candidate for the degree of)

telah mengemukakan tesis / disertasi yang bertajuk:  
(has presented his/her thesis / dissertation of the following title):

**RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT : AN EXAMINATION OF MULTINATIONAL JOINT  
TASKFORCE AND THE FIGHT AGAINST INSURGENCY IN THE LAKE CHAD BASIN, 2009-2017**

seperti yang tercatat di muka surat tajuk dan kulit tesis / disertasi.  
(as it appears on the title page and front cover of the thesis / dissertation).

Bahawa tesis/disertasi tersebut boleh diterima dari segi bentuk serta kandungan dan meliputi bidang ilmu dengan memuaskan, sebagaimana yang ditunjukkan oleh calon dalam ujian lisan yang diadakan pada **17 Disember 2019**

*That the said thesis/dissertation is acceptable in form and content and displays a satisfactory knowledge of the field of study as demonstrated by the candidate through an oral examination held on: **December 17, 2019***

Pengerusi Viva : **ASSOC. PROF. DR.**  
(Chairman for Viva) **RATNARIA WAHID**

Tandatangan  
(Signature)

Pemeriksa Luar : **ASSOC. PROF. DR. TUNKU**  
(External Examiner) **MOHAR TUNKU MOHD**  
**MOKHTAR**

Tandatangan  
(Signature)

Pemeriksa Dalam : **ASSOC. PROF. DR. RUSDI**  
(Internal Examiner) **OMAR**

Tandatangan  
(Signature)

Tarikh : **17 Disember 2019**  
Date

Nama Pelajar  
(Name of Student) : **ABDULLAHI ADAMU (902122)**

Tajuk Tesis  
(Title of the Thesis) : **RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT : AN EXAMINATION OF  
MULTINATIONAL JOINT TASKFORCE AND THE FIGHT  
AGAINST INSURGENCY IN THE LAKE CHAD BASIN, 2009-  
2017**

Program Pengajian  
(Programme of Study) : **Ph.D**

Penyelia Pertama  
(First Supervisor) : **DR. LAILA SURIYA AHMAD  
APANDI**

Penyelia Kedua  
(Second Supervisor) : **ASSOC. PROF. DR.  
MUHAMMAD FUAD OTHMAN**

Tandatangan  
(Signature)

Tandatangan  
(Signature)



**UUM**  
Universiti Utara Malaysia



## **PERMISSION TO USE**

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for PhD degree from the Universiti Utara Malaysia, I agree that the Universiti library may take it freely available for inspection. I further agree that the permission for copying of this thesis in any manner either in whole or in part, for scholarly purpose may be granted by my supervisor or in his absence, by the Dean, Ghazali Shafie Graduate school of Government, college of Law, Government and International Studies (COLGIS). It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the Universiti Utara Malaysia for any scholarly use which may be made of any material from my thesis.

Request for permission to copy or make other use of material in this thesis in whole or in part should be addressed to:

Dean (Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government)

UUM College of Law, Government and International Studies



Universiti Utara Malaysia  
06010 UUM Sintok  
Kedah Darul Aman Malaysia.

---

Universiti Utara Malaysia

## ABSTRACT

Responsibility to protect denotes, that sovereign states have a responsibility to protect their citizens from mass atrocities crime such as war crime, crime against humanity, ethnic cleansing and genocide. Should the states are unable or unwilling to do so, the responsibility to protect must be undertaken by the international community. As argued in the thesis, the insurgency activities which started as a national security problem for Nigeria has progressively transformed into a regional problem. The crisis creates a considerable humanitarian disaster, not just within Nigeria, but as well as in neighbouring countries that call for swift intervention. Thus, the objectives of the study are: to examine the extent to which the regional peacekeeping of Multinational Joint Task Force succeeded in containing the insurgency within the framework of Responsibility to Protect; to examine whether the collaborative effort of Lake Chad Basin Commission member states hampers or enhances operation of Multinational Joint Task Force; to ascertain the expansion of sub regional peacekeeping demonstrated in Multinational Joint Task Force as the new trend of peacekeeping in transnational conflict situations. Phenomenology was used as a qualitative research method in conducting the study. Hence, 10 informants with vast experience were engaged in a semi structured interview to gather the required data. The thesis found that sub regional peacekeeping of Multinational Joint Task Force has succeeded in containing the insurgency in the Lake Chad Basin due to robust counter insurgency operations of Multinational Joint Task Force. In addition to this, the collaborative effort among the states affected by the insurgency namely, Nigeria, Chad, Niger Republic and Cameroon has enhanced the operational capacity of the Multinational Joint Task Force as demonstrated in intelligence sharing and cross border pursuit. The study also found that success of Multi-National Joint Task Force operations is subjected to adequate funding, appropriate and timely intelligence as well as counter insurgency skills and tactic in an effort to confront the evolving tactics of the violent Islamist group.

**Keywords:** Responsibility to Protect, Multinational Joint Task Force, Peace Keeping, Lake Chad Basin Commission

## ABSTRAK

Tanggungjawab untuk melindungi menyatakan bahawa negara berdaulat mempunyai tanggungjawab untuk melindungi warganya dari kejahatan massa seperti kejahatan peperangan, kejahatan terhadap kemanusiaan, pembersihan etnik dan pembunuhan beramai-ramai. Jika kerajaan tidak dapat atau tidak bersedia untuk melakukannya, tanggungjawab untuk melindungi mesti dilakukan oleh masyarakat antarabangsa. Seperti yang dibahas dalam tesis, aktiviti pemberontakan yang bermula sebagai masalah keselamatan negara Nigeria telah berubah secara beransur-ansur menjadi masalah serantau. Krisis ini mewujudkan bencana kemanusiaan yang cukup besar, bukan hanya di Nigeria, tetapi juga di negara-negara jiran yang memerlukan intervensi sewajarnya. Oleh itu, objektif kajian adalah: untuk menilai sejauh mana pasukan pengaman serantau Pasukan Petugas Bersama Multinasional berjaya memasukkan pemberontakan dalam rangka Tanggungjawab Melindungi; untuk mengkaji sama ada usaha kerjasama daripada anggota Suruhanjaya Lembangan Tasik Chad menghalang atau meningkatkan operasi Pasukan Petugas Bersama Multinasional; untuk memastikan pengembangan pengawalan sub serantau yang ditunjukkan dalam Pasukan Petugas Bersama Multinasional sebagai trend baru pengaman dalam situasi konflik transnasional. Fenomenologi digunakan sebagai kaedah penyelidikan kualitatif dalam menjalankan kajian. Oleh itu, 10 orang informan yang berpengalaman luas dilibatkan dalam wawancara separa berstruktur untuk mengumpulkan data yang diperlukan. Kajian ini mendapati bahawa penjagaan sub-serantau Pasukan Petugas Bersama Multinasional telah berjaya membendung pemberontakan di Tasik Chad Basin berikutan operasi balas pemberontakan Pasukan Petugas Bersama Multinasional. Di samping itu, usaha kerjasama di kalangan negara-negara yang terjejas oleh pemberontakan itu, iaitu Nigeria, Chad, Republik Niger dan Kamerun, telah meningkatkan keupayaan operasi Pasukan Petunjuk Bersama Multinasional seperti yang ditunjukkan dalam perkongsian perisikan dan pengejaran merentasi sempadan. Kajian ini juga mendapati bahawa kejayaan operasi Pasukan Petugas Bersama Multinasional tertakluk kepada pembiayaan yang mencukupi, perisikan yang sesuai dan tepat pada masa serta kemahiran dan taktik pemberontakan balas dalam usaha untuk menghadapi taktik yang berkembang dari kumpulan Islam yang ganas.

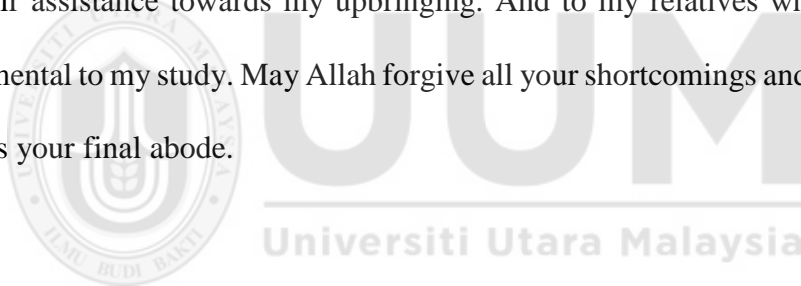
**Kata kunci:** Tanggungjawab Melindungi, Pasukan Petugas Bersama Multinasional, Pasukan Pengaman, Suruhanjaya Lembangan Tasik Chad



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

My gratitude goes to the master of the universe (The Almighty Allah SWA) and his Noble Prophet (Muhammd SAW) for granting me the good health and wisdom for undertaking this serious research from the beginning to the end. I acknowledge, with deep gratitude and appreciation, valuable time, encouragements, guidance and mentoring given to me by my supervisors Dr Laila Suriya Ahmad Apandi and Prof Madya Dr. Muhammad Fuad Othman. May Allah bless you for the objective criticism that made this work a success.

My profound gratitude goes to my parents Alhaji Adamu, Aliyu and Ramatu Adamu for their assistance towards my upbringing. And to my relatives whose advice was instrumental to my study. May Allah forgive all your shortcomings and make Aljannah Firdaus your final abode.



## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>PERMISSION TO USE.....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>ABSTRAK .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENT .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>LIST OF APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background of the Study .....	1
1.2 Problem Statement .....	13
1.3 Research Questions .....	15
1.4 Research Objectives .....	16
1.5 Original Contribution of the Study .....	16
1.6 Scope of the Study .....	17
1.7 Key Terms .....	18
1.7.1 Responsibility to Protect (R2P): .....	18
1.7.2 Peacekeeping:.....	19
1.7.3 Regional Organizations.....	19
1.7.4 Sub Regional Organization .....	19
1.7.5 Insurgency .....	20
1.7.6 MNJTF.....	20
1.7.7 Lake Chad Basin .....	20
1.8 Chapterization .....	22
 <b>CHAPTER TWO : LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>	 <b>25</b>
2.1 Introduction .....	25
2.2 Peacekeeping.....	25
2.3 Responsibility to Protect (R2P).....	30
2.4 United Nations and Peacekeeping.....	42
2.5 Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping .....	47
2.6 Non-indifference .....	49
2.7 Regional Peacekeeping in Africa .....	54
2.8 African Union.....	55

2.8.1 AU Institutions for the prevention of Mass Atrocity Crimes.....	63
2.8.2 The Peace and Security Council .....	64
2.8.3 The Continental Early Warning System .....	65
2.8.4 The African Standby Force .....	66
2.8.5 The Panel of the Wise .....	67
2.14 ECOWAS.....	69
2.15 Multinational Joint Taskforce .....	77
2.16 Background to the Emergence of the Insurgency .....	91
2.17 The Lake Chad Basin .....	102
2.18 Conclusion .....	108
<b>CHAPTER THREE : ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK .....</b>	<b>109</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	109
3.2 Frameworks to analyze R2P.....	109
3.2.1 Cosmopolitanism .....	110
3.2.1.1 Rationale for adopting cosmopolitanism .....	112
3.2.2 Solidarism .....	113
3.2.2.1 Rationale for adopting solidarism.....	115
3.3 Conclusion .....	116
4.1 Introduction .....	117
4.1.1 Research Design: Qualitative.....	118
4.1.2 Research Philosophy: Interpretivism .....	119
4.1.3 Research Sampling Technique: Purposive/Non-Probability.....	120
4.1.4 Sources of Data Collection .....	121
4.1.5 Target Population and Sample Size .....	122
4.1.6 Sample Size.....	123
4.1.7 Data Analysis: Thematic .....	123
4.1.8 Validity and Reliability .....	125
4.1.9 The informants Profile .....	126
4.1.10 Interview Protocol.....	127
4.2 The Informants and Coding .....	128
4.2.1 Thematic Analysis of the Interviews .....	130
4.3 Conclusion .....	131

## **CHAPTER FIVE : THE SUB-REGIONAL PEACE-KEEPING OF MNJTF IN CONTAINING THE INSURGENCY IN LAKE CHAD BASIN .....132**

5.1 Introduction .....	132
5.2 Rationale of Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, Niger in forming the MNJTF .....	132
5.2.1 Legal and Policy Document of Nigeria's Counter Insurgency Operation	133
5.2.2 Policy Document and Declaration of Support to Chad Counter Insurgency	137
5.2.3 Policy Document and Declaration of Support to Niger Counter Insurgency	138
5.2.4 Policy Document and Declaration of Support to Cameroon Counter Insurgency .....	139
5.3 The peacekeeping of MNJTF.....	139
5.4 Multi-National Joint Task Force and The Responsibility To Protect (R2P).....	149
5.4.1 Denial of Space for Insurgents to Operate .....	153
5.5 Conclusion .....	156

## **CHAPTER SIX : COLLABORATIVE EFFORT OF CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES IN CONTAINING THE INSURGENCY .....158**

6.1 Introduction .....	158
6.2 Collaboration on Intelligence Sharing .....	158
6.3 Collaboration on Cross Border Pursuit and Patrol .....	164
6.3.1 International Support and Cooperation .....	171
6.4 Conclusion .....	176

## **CHAPTER SEVEN : NEW MODE AND THE EXPANSION OF SUB REGIONAL PEACEKEEPING .....177**

7.1 Introduction .....	177
7.2 New Mode of Operation .....	177
7.3 African Solutions for African Problems .....	183
7.3.1 Mutual Suspicion among MNJTF Troops .....	189
7.4 Conclusion .....	192

## **CHAPTER EIGHT : CONCLUSION.....194**

8.1 Introduction .....	194
8.3 Research Question 2.....	199
8.4 Research Question 3.....	204
8.5 Avenues for Future Research .....	208

8.6 Recommendations .....	209
8.7 Overall Remark .....	210
REFERENCES.....	212
APPENDICES .....	237



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 2. 1	The Basin stretches Part of Seven Countries .....	104
Table 4. 1	Research Questions, Objectives and Sources of Data Collection .....	121
Table 4. 2	The Demographic Data of the informants.....	127
Table 4. 3	The Informants and Coding.....	128





## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. 1	Map of Chad Basin Depicting the States .....	21
Figure 2. 1	Institutional architecture of the MNJTF .....	91
Figure 2. 2	The Lake Chad Basin.....	103
Figure 4. 1	Research Design Framework .....	117



## LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX A .....	237
APPENDIX B .....	239



# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

The conduct of Peacekeeping has grown significantly over the past six decades and is now more often employed and complemented with peacemaking and peacebuilding arrangements. However, it is still mainly regarded as a military endeavor. It was the then President of the United States of America Barack Obama that states that the main threat to international peace and security currently is not as a result of rivalry among great powers but rather ungoverned spaces (Jones, 2009). In the same vein, Jones (2009) further argued that the main policy apparatus in post-Cold War era deployed in addressing security threats such as transnational terrorism, insurgency and sub national conflict is Multidimensional Peacekeeping (MNJTF) mainly through United Nations (UN).

The UN peacekeeping had served as an effective tool through which humanitarian crises (R2P) are curbed or contained and state authority is extended (MNJTF) particularly in a situation where the state capacity is being contested or weaker. Hence the UN Peace missions continue to be an important policy instrument in an increasingly and rapidly changing world characterized by transnational conflict (Rietjens and Ruffa, 2019; Maekawa and Gizelis, 2019). Meanwhile, peacekeeping at national level is likely to deliver the most appropriate benefits because of improved security for local population. It must be a well-thought-out that peacekeeping by

## REFERENCES

### Primary Sources

#### Interviews

Informant 1. (2018, April, 29). Defence Head Quarters Abuja, Nigeria.

Informant 2. (2018, April, 4). Defence Head Quarters Abuja, Nigeria.

Informant 3. (2018, April, 4). Defence Head Quarters Abuja, Nigeria.

Informant 4. (2018, March, 29). Defence College Abuja, Nigeria

Informant 5. (2018, March, 29). Defence College Abuja, Nigeria.

Informant 6. (2018, June 3). Military Civil Relations Unit, Niger Republic

Informant 7. (2018, March, 23). Defence College Abuja, Nigeria.

Informant 8. . (2018, April, 20). Defence College Abuja, Nigeria.

Informant 9. . (2018, March, 23). Defence College Abuja, Nigeria.

Informant 10. . (2018, March, 29). Defence College Abuja, Nigeria.

#### Secondary Sources

#### Books

Adetula, V. A. O. (2015). 'Governance Deficit, Violence and Insecurity in African Border.

Angell, A., & Gunaratna, R.(2012). *Terrorist Rehabilitation: The U.S. Experience in Iraq*. Boca Raton: CRC

Appiah, Kwame Anthony; Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. (2010). *Encyclopaedia of Africa*. Oxford University Press. p. 254. ISBN 978-0-19-533770-9. Retrieved 2013-05-06.

Bellamy, A., & Dunne, T. (Eds.). (2016). *The Oxford Handbook of the Responsibility to Protect*. Oxford University Press.

Bjorkdahl A , (2005). *Peace Operations and the Promotion of Cosmopolitanism*, Lund university, Sweden,

Brown, C., Nardin, T., & Rengger, N. (Eds.). (2002). *International relations in political thought: Texts from the ancient Greeks to the first world war*. Cambridge University Press.

Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Research design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks.

- De Coning, C. (2019). Africa and UN Peace Operations: Implications for the Future Role of Regional Organisations. In *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order* (pp. 213-229). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
- Falola, T. (2008). *A History of Nigeria*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 978-1-139-47203-6.
- Findlay T. (2002). *The Use of Force in UN Peace Operations*. Oxford, UK: SIPRI and Oxford Univ.Press.
- Hillen J. (1998). *Blue Helmets: The Strategy of UN Military Operations*. London: Brassey's UK
- Howard, L. M. (2008). *UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University press.
- Rothchild, D., & Lake, (1998). *Sovereignty as responsibility: conflict management in Africa*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1996.
- Krieg, A. (2016). Considering the Argument for the Cosmopolitan Responsibility to Protect. In *Commercializing Cosmopolitan Security* (pp. 59-81). Springer International Publishing
- Thakur, R. (2017). *The United Nations, peace and security: from collective security to the responsibility to protect*. Cambridge University Press.

#### Articles/Journals

- Abass, A. (2000). The new collective security mechanism of ECOWAS: Innovations and problems. *J. Conflict & Sec. L.*, 5, 211.
- Abrahamsen, R., & Williams, C. (2011). *Security beyond the state*. New York, NY:
- Abubakar, B. (2008), The perception of Archaeology in Africa: opportunities and potentials. *IJNA* 37(2), 387-388.
- Adebayo Olukoshi, *West Africa Political Economy in the Next Millennium: Retrospect and Prospect* (Dakar: CODESRIA Monograph Series, 2001).
- Adeyemi, Segun (2003). "West African Leaders Agree on Deployment to Liberia". *Jane's Defence Weekly*.
- African Union (2000). 'Constitutive Act'. <[http://www.au.int/en/about/constitutive\\_act](http://www.au.int/en/about/constitutive_act)>.
- Agbibo D. E. (2017) *Borders that continue to bother us: the politics of cross-border security cooperation in Africa's Lake Chad Basin, Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*.

- Agbiboa, D. E. (2014a). The terrorism challenge in West Africa: Regional dynamics and the ECOWAS response. *Regional Integration Observer*, 2(2), 10–12
- Agbiboa, D. E. (2014b). Boko Haram and the Global Jihad: ‘Don’t think Jihad is over.
- Agbiboa, D. E. (2015). Youth as tactical agents of peacebuilding and development in the Sahel. *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, 10(3), 30–45.
- Agbiboa, D. E. (2017). Borders that continue to bother us: the politics of cross-border security cooperation in Africa’s Lake Chad Basin. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 55(4), 403-425.
- Akinbi, J. (2015). Examining the Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria and the Quest for a Permanent Resolution of the Crisis. *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3 (8): 32-45.
- Albert, I. O. (2015). Explaining a security dilemma: Nigeria–Chad relations in the context of Boko Haram crisis. *Ife Journal of International Affairs*, 1(1), 1-22.
- Albert, I.O. (2017). Rethinking the Functionality of the Multinational Joint Task Force in Managing the Boko Haram Crisis in the Lake Chad Basin. *Africa Development / Afrique et Développement*, 42(3), Special Issue on Security Regimes in Africa – Prospects and Challenges / Numéro spécial sur Les régimes de sécurité en Afrique – Perspectives et défis, pp. 119-135.
- Albrecht, P., Cold-Ravnkilde, S. M., & Haugegaard, R. (2017). African peacekeepers in Mali (No. 2017: 02). DIIS Report.
- Alexandrovna, b. S., & Dennis, o. O. O. (2016). Boko haram: a new paradigm to west africa security challenges. Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Международные отношения,
- Alicia L. B. (2006). The responsibility to protect: the UN World Summit and the question of unilateralism. *Yale Law journal*, 115, 1156-1165.
- Aly, A. (2015). *Finding meaning for countering violent extremism. Journal of Policing, Intelligence and counter terrorism.*
- Ani, N. C. (2016). The African Union non-indifference stance: lessons from Sudan and Libya. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 6(2), 1-22.
- Aning, K., & Okyere, F. (2016). The African Union. *The Oxford Handbook of the Responsibility to Protect*, 355.
- Aning, Kwesi and Aubyn, Festus (2013) Challenges in Mali: An Historic Duty to Ensure Peace. *New Routes*, 2.
- Aning, Kwesi and Frank Okyere (2015). ‘Responsibility to Prevent in Africa: Leveraging Institutional Capacity to Mitigate Atrocity Risk’. *Policy Analysis Brief* (New York: The Stanley Foundation).



- Aning, Kwesi and Frank Okyere (2015). 'Responsibility to Prevent in Africa: Leveraging Institutional Capacity to Mitigate Atrocity Risk'. Policy Analysis Brief (New York: The Stanley Foundation).
- Aning, Kwesi and Samuel Atuobi (2009). 'Responsibility to Protect in Africa: An Analysis of the African Union's Peace and Security Architecture', *Global Responsibility to Protect* 1(1): 90–113.\
- Aning, Kwesi and Samuel Atuobi (2011). 'Application of and Responses to the Responsibility to Protect Norm at the Regional and Subregional Levels in Africa: Lessons for Implementation', in The Stanley Foundation, *The Role of Regional and Subregional Arrangements in Strengthening the Responsibility to Protect* (New York: The Stanley Foundation), pp. 12–18.
- Aning, Kwesi and Samuel Atuobi (2011). 'Application of and Responses to the Responsibility to Protect Norm at the Regional and Subregional Levels in Africa: Lessons for Implementation', in The Stanley Foundation, *The Role of Regional and Subregional Arrangements in Strengthening the Responsibility to Protect* (New York: The Stanley Foundation), pp. 12–18.
- Appiah-Mensah, S (2005). AU's critical assignment in Darfur: challenges and constraints. *African Security Review*, 14(2):7–21.
- Appiah-Mensah, S. (2006). The African Mission in Sudan: Darfur Dilemmas. *African Security Studies*, 15(1), 1-19.
- Arbuckle, J. V. (2006). *Military forces in 21st century peace operations: no job for a soldier?* Oxon, OX: Routledge.
- Areas'. In Society for International Relations Awareness (ed.) *Reflections on Nigeria's Foreign Policy*, Vol. IV: The Challenges of Insurgency (pp.43-64). Abuja:Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Assanvo, W., Abatan, J., & Sawadogo, W. (2016). *West Africa Report: Assessing the Multinational Joint Task Force*.
- Asuelime, L. E., & David, O. J. (2015). *Boko Haram: The Socio-Economic Drivers*. London: Springer. available at: [www.jean-jaures.org](http://www.jean-jaures.org), (accessed 23 December 2015), p. 9.
- AU (2013) Peace and Security Council. Communiqué. AU doc., PSC/PR/COMM. (CCCLXXX). Addis Ababa, 2013.
- AU Assembly. (2015). Declaration of support to the countries of lake chad basin commission (lcbc) and benin in the fight against boko haram doc. Assembly/au/19(xxiv)
- Babbie, E. (2013). *The practice of social research*. Cengage Learning.
- Badescu, C. G., & Bergholm, L. (2009). The responsibility to protect and the conflict in Darfur: The big let-down. *Security Dialogue*, 40(3), 287-309.

- Baga: Multinational Joint Task Forces, BHTs and Host Community by Lt. Col. Sagir Musa,” *SaharaReporters*, May 7, 2013. Accessed from URL: [saharareporters.com/2-13/05/07/baga-multinational-joint-task-forces-bhts-and-host-community-lt-col-sagir-musa](http://saharareporters.com/2-13/05/07/baga-multinational-joint-task-forces-bhts-and-host-community-lt-col-sagir-musa).
- Bah, M. S. (2004) “ECOWAS and the Dynamics of Constructing a Regional Security Regime in West Africa,” PhD Dissertation, Department of Political Studies, Queen’s University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, 2004, p. 3.
- Baletić, Z. (1993). UNPROFOR in Croatia. *Politička misao*, 30(02), 44-54.
- BBC NEWS (2015). Nigeria Boko Haram: Militants ‘Technically Defeated’-Buhari. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35173618>. Accessed on 7/7/2019.
- Barkindo, A. and Bryans, S. (2016). De-Radicalising Prisoners in Nigeria: Developing a Basic Prison Based Deradicalisation Programme. *Journal for Deradicalisation*, 7: 1-25.
- Beardsley, K., & Gleditsch, K. S. (2015). Peacekeeping as Conflict Containment1. *International Studies Review*, 17(1), 67-89.
- Bellamy AJ, Williams PD. (2005). Who’s keeping the peace? Regionalization and contemporary peace operations. *Int. Sec.* 29(4):157–95
- Bellamy, A J (2015) ‘The responsibility to Protect turns Ten’; *Ethics and International Affairs* 29(3): 161-85.
- Bellamy, A. J. (2008). The Responsibility to Protect and the problem of military intervention. *International Affairs*, 84(4), 615-639.
- Bellamy, A. J. (2010). The responsibility to protect—five years on. *Ethics & International Affairs*, 24(2), 143-169.
- Bellamy, Alex J. and Paul D. Williams (2011). ‘The New Politics of Protection? Côte d’Ivoire, Libya and the Responsibility to Protect’, *International Affairs* 87(4): 825–50.
- Ben Amara, Ramzi (2011), *The Izala Movement in Nigeria: Its Split, Relationship to Sufis and Perception of Sharia Re-Implementation*, Ph.D. Thesis, Bayreuth University.
- Berdal, M. (2000). Lessons not learned: The use of force in ‘peace operations’ in the 1990s. *International peacekeeping*, 7(4), 55-74.
- Berdal, M. (2016). The State of UN Peacekeeping: Lessons from Congo. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 1-30
- Berger, L. F. (2000). State practice evidence of the humanitarian intervention doctrine: the ECOWAS intervention in Sierra Leone. *Ind. Int’l & Comp. L. Rev.*, 11, 605.

- Bernard, V. (2013). "Editorial- Multinational Operations and the Law- Great Expectations, Great Responsibilities," *International Review of the Red Cross* (2013), 95 (891/892) p. 475
- Besheer, M.(2017). MNJTF, Regional Taskforce Battles Boko Haram. Retrieved from <https://www.voanews.com/a/regional-task-force-battles-boko--haram/3765775.html>
- Beswick, D. (2014). The risks of African military capacity building: Lessons from Rwanda. *African Affairs*, 113(451), 212-231.
- Bodansky, Y., (2015) 'Boko Haram: No Longer Just a Threat to the State of Nigeria but to the Entire Continent of Africa and the West', ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security Issue no. 132, available at <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital>.
- Boutros-Ghali, B. (1992). An agenda for peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. *International Relations*, 11(3), 201-218.
- Bove, V., & Ruggeri, A. (2016). Kinds of blue: Diversity in UN peacekeeping missions and civilian protection. *British Journal of Political Science*, 46(3), 681-700.
- Boyer, M. A., Hudson, N. F., & Butter, M. J. (2013). *Global politics: Engaging a complex world*. New York:McGraw Hill.
- Breau, S. C. (2006). The impact of the Responsibility to Protect on peacekeeping. *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, 11(3), 429-464.
- Brigaglia, Andrea (2012), A Contribution to the History of the Wahhabi Da'wa in West Africa: The Career and the Murder of Shaykh Ja'far Mahmoud Adam (Daura, ca. 1961/1962-Kano 2007), in: *Islamic Africa*, 3, 1, 1-23.
- Brosig, M. (2013). 'Introduction: the African security regime complex—exploring converging actors and policies', *African Security* vi (3/4): 171-90
- Brosig, M., & Sempijja, N. (2017). What peacekeeping leaves behind: evaluating the effects of multi-dimensional peace operations in Africa. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 17(1), 21-52.
- Brubacher, M., Damman, E. K., & Day, C. (2017). The AU Task Forces: an African response to transnational armed groups. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 55(2), 275-299.
- Buhari M. (2016) Boko Haram Technically Defeated, Buhari insists Retrieved from <https://punchng.com/boko-haram-technically-defeated-buhari-insists/> Accessed on 7/7/2019 Cambridge University Press.
- Campbell, J. (2013). Should US fear Boko Haram? CNN. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/10/01/opinion/campbell-boko-haram/>

- Carmody Padraig (2005) "Transforming Globalization and Security: Africa and America Post-9/11," *Africa Today* 52, no. 1 (2005): 97–120.
- Caruso, R., Khadka, P. B., Petrarca, I., & Ricciti, R. (2012). *Do UN troops secure crops? Evidence from South Sudan*. Working Paper Series, Department of Economics, University of Verona.
- Casola, C, Iocchi, A.(2018). Humanitarian Crisis in the Lake Chad Region: A Commentary: ISPI (Istituto per gli studi di Politica Internazionale) March 23,2018.
- Chandler, D. (2004). The responsibility to protect? Imposing the 'liberal peace'. *International peacekeeping*, 11(1), 59-81.
- Charles Ukeje, "From Economic Cooperation to Collective Security: ECOWAS and the Changing Imperatives of Sub-Regionalism in West Africa," in *The Crisis of the State and Regionalism in West Africa: Identity, Citizenship and Conflict*, ed. Alade W. Fawole and Charles Ukeje (Dakar: CODESRIA Book Series, 2005), 133–53.
- Charles, J. (1999). *Global Justice: Defending Cosmopolitanism*.
- Charter of the United Nations 1945 (UN Charter), article 39.
- Cilliers, J., & Mills, G. (1999). From Peacekeeping to Managing Complex Emergencies: Peace Support Missions in Africa, 1–7. *South Africa: Institute for Security Studies and South African Institute for International Affairs*.
- Cilliers, Jakkie and Johann Pottgieter (2010). 'The African Standby Force', in Ulf Engel and João Gomes Porto (eds.), *Africa's New Peace and Security Architecture: Promoting Norms, Institutionalizing Solutions* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 111–41.
- Cimbala, S. J., & Forster, P. K. (2016). *Multinational military intervention: NATO policy, strategy and burden sharing*. Oxon, OX: Routledge.
- Civil Affairs Handbook, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations and Department of Field Support, 2012, at 54-55.
- Cohen, L. J., & Moens, A. (1999). Learning the lessons of UNPROFOR: Canadian peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 6(2), 85-100.
- Cole, B. E., Courtney, A., Kaster, E., & Sheinbaum, N. (2017). *Breaking Boko Haram and Ramping Up Recovery*.
- Comolli, V. (2017). The evolution and impact of Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin. Retrieved from <https://odihpn.org/magazine/the-evolution-and-impact-of-boko-haram-in-the-lake-chad-Basin/>
- Connaughton, R. (2017). *Military Intervention and Peacekeeping: The Reality: The Reality*. Oxon, OX: Routledge.

- Cummings, R.(2015). “Boko Haram”s Pledge to ISIS: Public Relations or Reality?” Global Observatory, March 13, 2015.
- Cunliffe, P 2007. Darfur: colonised by ‘peacekeepers’ 2 August [online]. Available at <http://www.spikedonline.com/index.php?/site/article/3697/>
- Crelinsten, R. (2009). Counter-terrorism. Cambridge: Polity Publishers.
- Cutler, L. (2017). National Security Strategy Report—2015. In President Obama’s Counterterrorism Strategy in the War on Terror (pp. 137-146). Palgrave Pivot, New York.
- Darfur Peace Agreement. 12 January 2006 [online]. Available at <http://allafrica.com/peaceafrica/resources/view/00010926.pdf>
- Day, G., & Freeman, C. (2005). Operationalizing the responsibility to protect—The police keeping approach. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, 11(2), 139-146.
- David Pratt, (1999). Sierra Leone: The Forgotten Crisis 11, Sessional Paper No. 8530-361-35 (Apr. 23, 1999) (unpublished report to the Can. Minister of Foreign Affairs, on file with Can. Dept. of Foreign Affairs and Int’l Trade), available at <http://www.infoexport.gc.ca/docs/viewe.asp?did=1287>.
- Dasuki, M. (2013). The Fight Against Terrorism and Piracy. Paper Presented by National Security Adviser, Mohammed Sambo Dasuki at the 10th Regional Meeting (West Africa) of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly from 17th -19th July 2013.
- De Coning, C., Gelot, L., & Karlsrud, J. (2016). *Towards an African model for peace operations. The FuTure, 1*.
- De Coning, C., Gelot, L., & Karlsrud, J. (2016). Towards an African model for peace operations. *The future of African peace operations*, 1-19.
- De Coning, C., Gelot, L., & Karlsrud, J. (Eds.). (2016). *The future of African peace operations: from the Janjaweed to Boko Haram*. Zed Books Ltd..
- De Waal, A 2005a. Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African identities, violence and external engagement. *African Affairs*, 104(415):181–205.
- Deal on massive, the joint offensive against Boko Haram’. Premium Times. Retrieved from <http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/156947>
- Decorse, Christopher R. (2001). *West Africa During the Atlantic Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspectives*. Continuum International Publishing Group. ISBN 978-0-7185-0247-8. Retrieved 2013-05-06.
- Deltenre, D. & Liégeois, M. (2016). Filling a leaking bathtub? Peacekeeping in Africa and the challenge of transnational armed rebellions. *African Security*, 9(1), 1-20.

- Diehl, P. F. (2016). *The Fog of Peace: A Memoir of International Peacekeeping in the 21st Century*.
- DiCicco-Bloom, B., & Crabtree, B. F. (2006). The qualitative research interview. *Medical education*, 40(4), 314-321.
- Dobbins J, McGinn JG, Crane K, Jones S, Lal R, et al. (2003). *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq*. Santa Monica/Arlington/Pittsburg: RAND Corp.
- Dole, M.(2016). MNJTF claims victory in final onslaught. Retrieved from <http://saharareporters.com/2016/06/22/multinational-joint-task-force-claims-big-victories-final-onslaught-boko-haram>
- Doyle MW, Sambanis N. (2000). International peacebuilding: a theoretical and quantitative analysis. *Am. Polit. Sci. Rev.* 94(4):779–801
- Doyle MW, Sambanis N. (2006). *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press
- Dunne, T., & Gifkins, J. (2011). Libya and the State of Intervention. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 65(5), 515-529.
- Durch, W. J., Holt, V. K., Earle, C. R., & Shanahan, M. K. (2003). The Brahimi report and the future of UN peace operations. *The Henry L. Stimson Center*.
- Dwyer, M. (2015). Peacekeeping abroad, trouble making at home: Mutinies in West Africa. *African Affairs*, 114(455), 206-225.
- Dze-Ngwa, W.(2018). The Multinational Joint Task Force against Boko Haram: Rethinking Military Interventions.
- ECDPM (2017). Political-Economy-Dynamics-Regional-Organizations-Africa. <https://ecdpm.org/wp-content/uploads/LCBC-Background-Paper-PEDRO-Political-Economy-Dynamics-Regional-Organisations-Africa-ECDPM-2017.pdf>
- ECOWAS (1999) “Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security,” 1999, available at: [http://www.iss.co.za/af/regorg/unity\\_to\\_union/pdfs/ecowas/ConflictMecha.pdf](http://www.iss.co.za/af/regorg/unity_to_union/pdfs/ecowas/ConflictMecha.pdf)
- ECOWAS (2001) “Protocol A/SP1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism For Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security,” 2001, available at: <http://www.comm.ecowas.int/sec/en/protocoles/Protocol%20on%20good-governance-and-democracyrev-5EN>
- Emerson, S. A. (2008). *The battle for Africa's hearts and minds*. *World Policy Journal*, 25, 53–62.



- Engel & Porto (2014) *'Imagining, Implementing, and Integrating the African peace and Security architecture: African Unions Challenges'*, *African Security*, vii (3): 135-46.
- Ero, Comfort (2013). 'The Problems with "African Solutions"', 2 December. <http://blog.crisisgroup.org/africa/2013/12/02/the-problems-with-african-solutions/>
- European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO), 'Central African Republic ECHO factsheet', 27 May 2014, <[http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/car\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/car_en.pdf)>
- European Union External Action Service (EEAS), 'Factsheet Central African Republic', 10 February 2014, [http://eeas.europa.eu/statements/docs/2014/140117\\_03\\_en.pdf](http://eeas.europa.eu/statements/docs/2014/140117_03_en.pdf)
- Evans, G. (2011). Ending mass atrocity crimes: The responsibility to protect balance sheet after Libya. Transcript, Lecture, July, 31.
- Evans, G., Thakur, R., & Pape, R. A. (2013). Correspondence: Humanitarian intervention and the responsibility to protect. *International security*, 37(4), 199-214.
- Evans, Gareth & Mohamed Sahnoun, (2002). *'The Responsibility to Protect'*, *Foreign Affairs* 81(6): 99–110.
- Eveslage, B.S., (2013). 'Clarifying Boko Haram's Transnational Intentions, Using Content Analysis of Public Statement in 2012', *Perspectives on Terrorism* 7 (5): 47–76.
- Ewi, M. A. (2013). The new ECOWAS counter-terrorism strategy and its implications
- Ewi, M. A., & Salifu, U. (2017). Money Talks-A Key Reason Youths Join Boko Haram.
- Faluyi, O. (2017). An Assessment of Nigeria's Counter Terrorism Policies against Boko Haram: A Thesis submitted to School of Social Sciences, University of Kwazulu Natal.
- FAO ().The Lake Chad Basin. Retrieve from <http://www.fao.org/docrep/W4347E/w4347e0j.htm>
- FAO. (1997). Irrigation Potential in Africa. A Basin Approach. FAO Land and Water Bulletin, 4.
- Feltman, J. (2016). Peace and security in Africa: being a report on Boko Haram presented to the 7748<sup>th</sup> meeting of the United Nations Security Council held on Wednesday, 27 July 2016, New York.
- Festus, O. (2014). 'Exclusive: Nigeria, France, Cameroon, three other countries sign

- Fetherston, A. B., Ramsbotham, O., & Woodhouse, T. (1994). UNPROFOR: Some observations from a conflict resolution perspective. *International Peacekeeping*, 1(2), 179-203.
- Fife, w. (2005). *Doing fieldwork: Ethnographic methods for research in developing countries and beyond*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fischer, J. (2002). Electoral conflict and violence. *IFES White paper*, 1.
- Folade, A. (2016). The Nature of Nigeria's Boko Haram War, 2010-2015: A Strategic Analysis. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10 (1), 1-12
- for West Africa. Institute for Security Studies.
- Force against Boko Haram (West Africa Report). Birmingham, UK: Institute for Security Studies.  
[https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/war19\\_0.pdf](https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/war19_0.pdf)
- Fortna VP. (2008a). *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices After Civil War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press
- Furnari, E., Julian, R., & Schweitzer, C. (2016). Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping: Effectively Protecting Civilians Without Threat of Violence, SSOAR, 1-24
- Gaibullov, K., George, J., Sandler, T., & Shimizu, H. (2015). Personnel contributions to UN and non-UN peacekeeping missions: A public goods approach. *Journal of Peace Research*, 52(6), 727-742.
- Gambari, I. (2006). A Multilateral Response to Terrorism. Article Featured in the Commonwealth Ministers Reference Book 2006. Henley Media Group: Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Gantz, P. H. (2007). The Postconflict Security Gap and the United Nations Peace Operations System. *Security, Reconstruction, and Reconciliation: When the Wars End*, 247-275.
- Gareth Evans, End of the Argument: How We Won the Debate Over Stopping Genocide, FOREIGN POLICY (Dec. 2011), <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/11/28/gareth-evansend-of-the-argument>.
- Gebremichael, M. (2018). Nigeria Conflict Insight.
- Gelot, Linnéa, Legitimacy, Peace Operations and Global-Regional Security: The African Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, 'Nigeria,' <[www.globalr2p.org/regions/nigeria](http://www.globalr2p.org/regions/nigeria)> accessed on 3 June 2015.
- GlobalSecurity.org (2016, July 21). 'Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF)'. Retrieved from <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/int/mnjtf.htm> on 30/3/2018.

- Goodpastor, A. J. (1996). *When Diplomacy Is Not Enough: Managing Multinational Military Interventions*. Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. New York, NY: Carnegie Corporation.
- Goyei, F. G. (2018). Nigeria's Boko Haram and its Security Dynamics in the West African Sub-Region. *Journal of Language, Technology & Entrepreneurship in Africa*, 9(1), 102-130.
- Grono, N. (2006). Briefing—Darfur: the international community's failure to protect. *African Affairs*, 105(421), 621-631
- Happold, M. (2016, July). The Responsibility of the UN and the International Rule of Law. A Comment on Janelle Diller. In *The Rule of Law and Its Application to the United Nations* (pp. 259-268). Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG.
- Harlow, B. (2003). "Conference of Berlin (1884–1885)". *Colonialism*. ABC-CLIO. ISBN 978-1-57607-335-3.
- Haruna, A. I., Maigari., A. S., Tahir, M. L., Mamman, Y. D., & Gusikit, R. B. (2012). [Detrital Gypsum Forms in the Nigerian \(Southern\) Sector of Chad Basin: A Criteria for interpretation in Nigeria's inland Basins: Implication of Detrital Gypsum Forms in Sedimentary Basins](#). GRIN Verlag. ISBN 978-3-656-33912-0. Retrieved 2013-05-06.
- Hassane, S. (2009). Société civile islamique et nouveaux espaces publics au Niger. Esquisse sur l'Islam postmoderne et les pratiques religieuses globales en Afrique, in: Gilles Holder (ed.), *L'Islam, nouvel espace public en Afrique*, Paris: Karthala, 101-126.
- Hedlund, E., Börjesson, M., & Österberg, J. (2015). Team learning in a multinational military staff exercise. *Small Group Research*, 46(2), 179-203.
- Henckaerts, J. M. (2009). Customary international humanitarian law: taking stock of the ICRC study. *Nordic Journal of International Law*, 78(4), 435-468.
- Herbst, J. (2014). *States and power in Africa: Comparative lessons in authority and control*. Princeton University Press..
- Horwitz, S. K., & Horwitz, I. B. (2007). The effects of team diversity on team outcomes: A meta-analytic review of team demography. *Journal of Management* 33(6). 987 -1015.
- Hultman, L., Kathman, J. D., & Shannon, M. (2016). United Nations peacekeeping dynamics and the duration of post-civil conflict peace. *Conflict management and peace science*, 33(3), 231-249.
- ICG (International Crisis Group) 2007. Darfur: revitalising the peace process. Africa report 125 [online]. Available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4769>

- Independent International Commission on Kosovo (2000). *The Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, Lessons Learned*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Institute for Security Studies (ISS) (2016). West African report. Assessing the multinational joint task force against Boko Haram. By W. Assanvo, J. Ella, A. Abatan and W. A. Sawadogo. Issue 19. Retrieved from <https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/war19.pdf>
- Institute for Security Studies (ISS). (2013). 'The Feature of Intrastate Conflict in Africa: More
- International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, the responsibility to protect: report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001.
- International Commission on Intervention, State Sovereignty, & International Development Research Centre (Canada). (2001). *The responsibility to protect: report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*. Idrc.
- International Crisis Group (2014) "Central African Republic: The Third Government in Thirteen Months Gets under Way." International Crisis Group. <http://blog.crisisgroup.org/africa/2014/01/21/central-african-republic-the-third-government-in-thirteen-months-gets-under-way>
- International Crisis Group (2017). Finding the right role for the G5 Joint Sahel Force (Africa
- International Crisis Group, (2014) 'Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency', Africa Report no. 216, April.
- Iocchi, A. (2018). Space of refuge, space of war: reshaping territorial order in the Lake Chad area. *Égypte/Monde arabe*, (2), 17-30.
- Irabor, L. L. (2018). MNJTF, Operation Lafiya Dole Committed to Stability in Lake Chad Basin. Retrieved from <https://theeagleonline.com.ng/mnjtf-operation-lafiya-dole-committed-to-stability-in-lake-chad-region/>
- Irabor, L. L. (2018). Lake Chad Basin Commission, MNJTF Communicates. Retrieved from <http://www.cbilt.org/en/news/mnjtf-communicates>.
- IRIN (Integrated Regional Information Network) 2007. New hope in Darfur as govt accepts UN support package. 20 April. [online]. Available at <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=71720>.
- Ismail, O. (2015). The Boko Haram insurgency and the changing patterns of regional security arrangements in Africa. In K. T. Hanson (Ed.), *Contemporary regional development in Africa* (pp. 201–224, The international political economy of new regionalisms series). Surrey: Ashgate.

- ISS Africa (2015). 'PSC to Approve Final Plans for the Regional Fight against Boko Haram,' <[www.issafrica.org/pscreport/on-the-agenda/psc-to-approve-final-plans-for-the-regional-fight-against-boko-haram](http://www.issafrica.org/pscreport/on-the-agenda/psc-to-approve-final-plans-for-the-regional-fight-against-boko-haram)> accessed on 16 June 2015.
- Iwilade, A. & Agbo, J.U. (2012). ECOWAS and the Regulation of Regional Peace and Security in West Africa. *Democracy and Security*, 8(4) 358-373
- Jackson, R., & Sørensen, G. (2013). *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*. (5th ed.)
- James A. 1990. *Peacekeeping in International Politics*. New York: St. Martin's
- James Rupert ( 1999) Tenuous Peace In Brutal War; Sierra Leone Sides Sign Accord, *Washington Post*, July 8, 1999,
- Jean-François Drevet, *Chypre: Île Extrême, Chronique d'une Europe Oubliée* (Paris: Syros/Alternatives, 1991),
- Joint War Centre (JWC). (1997). Joint Task Force Commander's Handbook for Peace Operations. Air Command and Staff College War Termination Course book, Joint War fighting Centre, Virginia. 64-81.
- Jones, B. (2009). Peacekeeping in Crisis? Confronting the Challenges Ahead. *The RUSI Journal*, 154(5), 78-83.
- Johnson, P. (2004) ) "Timber Booms, State Busts: the Political Economy of Liberian Timber," *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 101 (2004): 441–56;
- Jordaan, E. (2017). Collective security in Africa: The tension between theory and practice 1. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 39(1), 160-184.
- Jim Hooper,(1997) Peace in Sierra Leone: A Temporary Outcome?, *Jane' Intelligence Review*, Feb. 2, 1997, at 91-93.
- Kabia, J. (2011). Regional approaches to peacebuilding: The ECOWAS peace and security architecture (Conference Paper). Birmingham, UK: University of Birmingham. <https://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/bisa-africa/files/africanagency-seminar2-kabia.pdf>
- Kaldor, M. (2006). *New and old wars: Organised violence in a global era*. London: Polity Press.
- Kane, O. (2003), *Muslim Modernity in Postcolonial Nigeria: A study of the Society for the Removal of Innovation and Reinstatement of Tradition*, Leiden: Brill.
- Karlsrud, J. (2015). The UN at war: examining the consequences of peace-enforcement mandates for the UN peacekeeping operations in the CAR, the DRC and Mali. *Third World Quarterly*, 36(1), 40-54
- Kathman, J. D., & Wood, R. M. (2016). Stopping the killing during the "peace": Peacekeeping and the severity of post-conflict civilian victimization. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 12(2), 149- 169.

- Kenmore, Peter Ervin (2004). *The Future is an Ancient Lake: Traditional Knowledge, Biodiversity and Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture in Lake Chad Basin Ecosystems*. Food & Agriculture Org. p. 215. ISBN 978-92-5-105064-4. Retrieved 2013-05-06.
- Kioko, B. (2003). The right of intervention under the African Union's Constitutive Act: from noninterference to non-intervention', *International Review of the Red Cross* 85.
- Knoll, A., & Shiferaw, L. T. (2018). the contribution of the african peace and security architecture and african governance architecture.
- Kofi, Annan, intervention, Dichley foundation lecture XXXV, 1998, p.2
- Koops, J. A., & Tercovich, G. (2016). A European return to United Nations peacekeeping? Opportunities, challenges and ways ahead. *International Peacekeeping*, 23(5) 597- 609.
- Kreps, S. E. (2007). The United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur: Implications and prospects for success. *African Security Studies*, 16(4), 65-79.
- Krieg, A. (2016). Considering the Argument for the Cosmopolitan Responsibility to Protect. In *Commercializing Cosmopolitan Security* (pp. 59-81). Springer International Publishing.
- Kuperman, A (2005). Suicidal rebellions and the moral hazard of humanitarian intervention. *Ethnopolitics*, 4(2):2-5.
- Kuwali, Dan (2014). 'The Rationale for Article 4(h)', in Dan Kuwali and Frans Viljoen (eds.), *Africa and the Responsibility to Protect: Article 4(h) of the African Union Constitutive Act* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 13-24.
- Ladan, M. T. (2017). *Striving Terrorist Groups in Sub-Saharan Africa:-Strategic Implications for Nigeria*.
- LCBC (2016). *Geography, Lake Chad Basin Commission*. Retrieved from <http://www.cblt.org/en/geography>
- Lengyel, Emil (2007-03-01). *Dakar - Outpost of Two Hemispheres*. Simon & Schuster. ISBN 978-1-4067-6146-7. Retrieved 2013-05-06.
- Levitt, J.I. (1998). Humanitarian Intervention by Regional Actors in Internal Conflicts: The Cases of Liberia and Sierra Leone, 12 *Temp. Int'L & Comp. L.J.*333(1998)
- Lindley, D. (1997). UNFICYP and a Cyprus solution: a strategic assessment. *Defense and Arms Control Studies Program, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*.
- Loimeier, R. (2012). Boko Haram: The development of a militant religious movement in Nigeria. *Africa Spectrum*, 137-155.



- Lorakpen Ishu-Josef, "Insurgency: Nigeria, Britain Sign 20-year Training Pact," *Nigerian Pilot*, May 28, 2015. Accessed from URL: [nigerianpilot.com/insurgency-nigeria-britain-sign-20-yr-training-pact/](http://nigerianpilot.com/insurgency-nigeria-britain-sign-20-yr-training-pact/).
- Lori-Anne Thérout-Bénoni, "A Regional Multinational Joint Task Force to Combat Boko Haram", Institute for Security Studies (2015) available at: on <http://pncp.net/news/regional-multinational-joint-task-force-combat-bokoharam#sthash.ak7RN6mv.dpuf> (accessed 23 December 2015).
- Lotze, w. (2013.) *Strengthening African peace support operations: Nine lessons for the future of the African standby Force*.
- Lotze, Walter (2013). 'The African Union and the Protection of Civilians: Can Africa Protect its Most Vulnerable Populations?', in Tim Murithi (ed.), *Handbook of Africa's International Relations* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 197–206.
- Luke, Glanville, Ellery Stowell the enduring dilemmas of humanitarian intervention, *international studies review*, vol 113, 2011, p.243-44
- Maekawa, W., Ari, B., & Gizelis, T. I. (2019). UN involvement and civil war peace agreement implementation. *Public Choice*, 178(3-4), 397-416.
- Magrin, G.(2014). Autour du lac Tchad: l'intégration régionale dans tous ses états. In: Gana A.,
- Mahmood, O. S., & Ani, N. C. (2018). Responses to Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Region: Policies, Cooperation and Livelihoods.
- Mahmood, O.S.(2017) Lake Chad Crisis dominates African Union Summit; Retrieved from <https://www.worldwatchmonitor.org/coe/lake-chad-basis-crisis-dominate-african-union-summit/>
- Maiangwa, B. (2013). West Africa's terrorist challenge and the dynamics of regional response. *Insight on Africa*, 5(1), 1-18.
- Maiangwa, B. (2014). *Jihadism in West Africa: Adopting a three-dimensional approach to counterterrorism*. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 9(3), 17-32.
- Mampilly, Z. (2018). Shifts in global power and UN peacekeeping performance: India's rise and its impact on civilian protection in Africa. *African Affairs*, 117(467), 171-194.
- Mamud, Y. A., & Agyeno, O. J. (2017). Using Muslims Mannerism and Habits (UMMAH): An Early Warning Strategy for Countering Violent Extremism. *European Scientific Journal*, ESJ, 13(5).
- Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos, "Boko Haram Regional Issues Around the Uprising" (15 February 2015).
- Maru, M. T. (2013). African-Led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA): Military ahead of Politics. Al Jazeera Center for Studies.

- Mazenot, Georges (2005). *Sur le passé de l'Afrique Noire*. Editions L'Harmattan. p. 352. ISBN 978-2-296-59232-2. Retrieved 2013-05-06.
- Mbiyozo, A. N. (2017). Cameroon's forceful repatriation of Nigerian refugees.
- McInnis, K. J. (2015). Coalition contributions to countering the Islamic State. Congressional Research Service.
- Mensa-Bonsu, H. (2016, April 28–29). *United Nations Peace Operations: Reworking the UN's Response to Crises*. Paper presented at Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre during the 2nd Annual Symposium of West Africa Peace and Security Network, Accra, Ghana.
- Meyer, Angela. (2013) "10 Years of Regional Security Cooperation in the Central African Republic – and Still No Stabilization in Sight?" Paper presented at the 5th European Conference on African States, Lisbon, Portugal, 19–22 June 2013
- Mills, C. (2013). In brief: International military forces in Mali. House of Commons, SN06615, London, 19.
- Mohamed, S. (2012). Taking stock of the responsibility to protect. *Stanford journal of international Law*, vol.48, no2, p.63, 2012
- Mooney, E. D. (1995). Presence, ergo protection? UNPROFOR, UNHCR and the ICRC in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 7(3), 407-435.
- Munya. P. M. (20 ).The Organization of African Unity and its Role in Regional Conflict Resolution and Dispute Settlement: A Critical Evaluation" *Boston College Third World Law Journal*, 19 B. C: 537-592, 1998-1999, p. 578.
- Moller, B. (2009). "Africa's Sub-Regional Organisations: Seamless Web or Patchwork?," *Crisis States working paper no. 56* (Global and Regional Axes of Conflict), Crisis States Research Center, 2009.
- Murithi, T. (2016). The African Union as a norm entrepreneur: The limits of human protection and mass atrocities prevention. *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 8(2-3), 227-248.
- Murithi, Tim and Charles Nwaura (2010). 'The Panel of the Wise', in Ulf Engel and João Gomes Porto (eds.), *Africa's New Peace and Security Architecture: Promoting Norms, Institutionalizing Solutions* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 77–90.
- Nastasi, B., Moore, R. B., & Varjas, K. M. (2001). *Qualitative Research: Sampling & Sample Size*.
- Ndulo, M. (2011). United Nations peacekeeping operations and security and reconstruction. *Akron L. Rev.*, 44, 769.
- Ndulo, M. (2015). United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Security and Reconstruction. *Akron Law Review*, 44(3), 5.

- Neuman, L. W. (2006). Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches.
- Nigeria Boko Haram: Militants “Technically Defeated” – Buhari’, BBC, December 24, 2015, at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-35173618>.
- Nigeria Signs Pact with US, UK, others to Combat Terrorism,” *BizwatchNigeria*, June 12, 2014. Accessed from [bizwatchnigeria.ng/Nigeria-signs-pact-us-uk-combat-terrorism/](http://bizwatchnigeria.ng/Nigeria-signs-pact-us-uk-combat-terrorism/)
- Nigerian Military Vows to Continue Assault Against Boko Haram,” *ThisDay Live*, September 29, 2015. Accessed from URL [thisdaylive.com/articles/Nigerian-military-vows-to-continue-assault-against-boko-haram/221456/](http://thisdaylive.com/articles/Nigerian-military-vows-to-continue-assault-against-boko-haram/221456/)
- Nwankpa, M. (2015). Boko Haram: Whose Islamic State?.
- Nyuykonge, C. (2017). State of Africa, 2017.
- Obamamoye, B. F. (2016). Insurgency and Nigeria’s relations with her immediate neighbors in the twenty-first century. *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, 20(2), 157-177.
- Obamamoye, B. F. (2017). Counter-terrorism, Multinational Joint Task Force and the missing components. *African Identities*, 1-13.
- Odello, M., & Burke, R. (2016). Between immunity and impunity: peacekeeping and sexual abuses and violence. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 20(6), 839-853.
- Ogbogu, J. (2015). Analysing the Threat of Boko Haram and the ISIS Alliance in Nigeria. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 7(8), 16-21.
- Okoye, F (2018). MNJTF Counts Success in Lake Chad Region. *Leadership Newspapers*, 30<sup>th</sup> April. <https://leadership.ng/2018/04/30/mnjtf-counts-successes-in-lakechad>. Accessed: 18-10-2018.
- Okyere, Frank, Kwesi Aning, and Susan Nelson (2014). ‘Article 4(h): Translating Political Commitment into Collective Action’, in Dan Kuwali and Frans Viljoen (eds.), *Africa and the Responsibility to Protect: Article 4(h) of the African Union Constitutive Act* (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 278–87.
- Olaniyan, A., & Asuelime, L. (2014). *Boko Haram insurgency and the widening of cleavages in Nigeria*. *African Security*, 7(2), 91-109.
- Olonisakin, A. G. (2018) Defence Headquarters News. Retrieved from <http://defencehq.mil.ng/pages.php?itemType=News&itemid=41&menu=News>
- Oluwadare, A. J. (2016). Boko Haram terrorism in the Lake Chad Basin region: implications for subregional security. *Journal of international and global studies*. Vol. 8, number 1, pp 44-55

- Onamuti, O. Y., Okogbue, E. C., & Orimoloye, I. R. (2017). Remote sensing appraisal of Lake Chad shrinkage connotes severe impacts on green economics and socio-economics of the catchment area. *Royal Society open science*, 4(11), 171120.
- Onapajo, H. (2017). Has Nigeria defeated Boko Haram? An appraisal of the counter-terrorism approach under the Buhari administration. *Strategic Analysis*, 41(1), 61-73.
- Oni, D. (Ed.). (2004). Nigeria and globalization: discourses on identity politics and social conflict. CBAAC.
- Onuoha, F. C. (2013). Porous borders and Boko Haram's arms smuggling operations in Nigeria. Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 8.
- Onuoha, F.C., (2014) 'A Danger Not to Nigeria Alone: Boko Haram's transnational reach and regional responses', available at <http://www.library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/nigeria/>.
- Othman, M. F., Othman, Z., Hashim, K. F., & Azhar, (2015). Between non-interference and responsibility to protect: The plight of the Rohingya people. 2nd International Conference on Innovation and Sustainability, (12-13th November) Chiang Mai, Thailand.
- Owojaiye, G. A. (2016). *Regional military integration in West Africa: A case study of the Multi-National Joint Task Force in the FIGHT against Boko Haram*. Fort Leavenworth United States: Army Command and General Staff College.
- Oyewole, S. (2015). Boko Haram: Insurgency and the war against terrorism in the Lake Chad region. *Strategic Analysis*, 39(4), 428-432.,
- Palin, R. (2013). Multinational military forces: Problems and prospects. Oxon: Routledge.
- Park, J. & Park, M. (2016). Qualitative versus quantitative research methods: Discovery or justification. *Journal of marketing Thought*, 3(1), 1-7, <https://doi.org/jmt.2016.03.01.1>
- Patton, M. Q. (2005). *Qualitative research*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Peace-keeping, *Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council*, 17 June 1992, A/47/277 - S/24111.
- Plümper, T., & Neumayer, E. (2014). Terrorism and counterterrorism: An integrated approach and future *Press. research agenda. International Interactions*, 40, 579–589.
- Popovski, V., & Maiangwa, B. (2016). Boko Haram's attacks and the people's response: A 'fourth pillar' of the responsibility to protect? *African Security Review*, 25(2), 159-175.
- Posner Daniel & Young Daniel (2007) "The Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 18, no. 3 (2007): 126–40.

- Pushkina, D. (2006). A recipe for success? Ingredients of a successful peacekeeping mission. *International Peacekeeping*, 13(2), 133-149.
- Ramdeen, M. (2017). Countering terrorism and violent extremism in Africa. *conflict trends*, 2017(2), 49-56.
- Ramsbotham, O., Miall, H., & Woodhouse, T. (2011). *Contemporary conflict resolution* (3rd Ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Rangeley, Robert; Thiam, Bocar M.; Anderson, Randolph A.; Lyle, Colin A. (1994). *International river Basin organizations in Sub-Saharan Africa*. World Bank Publications. [ISBN 978-0-8213-2871-2](#). Retrieved 2013-05-06.
- Rather Jihad has just begun'. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, X(X), 1–18.
- Rein, C. (2015). The EU and peacekeeping in Africa: The case of AMISOM. *Global Affairs*, 1(2), 193-204.
- Reno, W. (1999). *Warlord politics and African states*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Report No. 258). Brussels/Dakar: International Crisis Group. <https://d2071andvip0wj.cloudfront.net/258-finding-the-right-role-for-the-g5-sahel-joint-force.pdf>
- Report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and Its Working Group, UN Doc. A/63/19, 63rd Session, 2009, at §125.
- Research. 49 (4): 565-575 Retrieved from <http://jpr.sagepub.com> on 12/2/2016.
- Retrieved from <https://africacheck.org/factsheets/factsheet-explaining-nigerias-bokoharam-and-its-violent-insurgency>.
- Reuters. (2015). Mistrust between Nigeria, Cameroon Stalls fight against Boko Haram. By Bate Felix. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/usnigeria-violence-cameroon-idUSKBN0KT1OY20150120>
- Rietjens, S., & Ruffa, C. (2019). Understanding Coherence in UN Peacekeeping: A Conceptual Framework. *International Peacekeeping*, 1-25.
- Rikhye IJ. (1984). *The Theory and Practice of Peacekeeping*. London: C. Hurst
- Robson, C., & McCartan, K. (2016). *Real world research*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Rotberg, R. I. (2003). Failed states, collapsed states, weak states: Causes and indicators. *State failure and state weakness in a time of terror*, 1-25.
- Sambe, B. (2016). Boko Haram dans le bassin du Lac Tchad: Au-delà du sécuritaire, le danger ethniciste et le désastre humanitaire. Timbuktu Institute–African Center for Peace Studies Observatoire des Radicalismes et Conflits religieux en Afrique (ORCRA).

- Sandler, T. (2017). International Peacekeeping Operations: Burden Sharing and Effectiveness. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 61(9), 1875-1897.
- Sergie, M.A. and Johnson, T., (2015). 'Boko Haram: A Backgrounder', Council on Foreign Relations, available at <http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/boko-haram/p25739>.
- Sesay Amadu (2008) "Can ECOWAS Re-invent the Nationalist Dream in West Africa? Reflections on the Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance," in *The Crisis of the State and Regionalism in West Africa: Identity, Citizenship and Conflict*, eds. Alade W.Fawole and Charles Ukeje (Dakar: CODESRIA Book Series, 2005), 191–209.
- Sharpe, M. (2017). From Non-Interference to Non-Indifference: The African Union and the Responsibility to Protect. International Refugee Rights Initiative Report. [www.refugee-rights.org](http://www.refugee-rights.org)
- Skinner, A. (2015). "The Rising Trend of Female Suicide Bombers in Nigeria," Fund for Peace – Global Square Blog, March 28, 2015, <http://library.fundforpeace.org/blog-20150328-nigeriawomenbombers>.
- Sleat, M. (2016). Assessing the Responsibility to Protect: moving from theory to practice. *British Politics and Policy at LSE*.
- Smith, C. B. (2007). *Politics and processes at the United Nations: The global dance*. New Delhi: Viva Books Private Limited.
- Smith, M. (2014). 'Factsheet: Explaining Nigeria's Boko Haram and its Violence Insurgency'.
- Soeters, J., & Manigart, P. (Eds.). (2009). Military cooperation in multinational peace operations: Managing cultural diversity and crisis response. Oxon, OX: Routledge.
- Solomon, H. (2013). The African state and the failure of US counter-terrorism initiatives in Africa: The cases of Nigeria and Mali. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 20(3), 427-445.
- Solomon, H. (2015). *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Africa Fighting Insurgency from Al Shabaab, Ansar Dine and Boko Haram*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stahn, C. (2007). Responsibility to protect: political rhetoric or emerging legal norm. *Am. J. Int'l L.*, 101, 99. *Strategic Analysis*, 39, 428–432.
- Stojek, S. M., & Tir, J. (2015). The supply side of United Nations peacekeeping operations: Trade ties and United Nations-led deployments to civil war states. *European Journal of International Relations*, 21(2), 352-376.
- Strachan, A. (2018). Donor funded alliances promoting regional cooperation.



- Sturman, K. & A. Hayatou. (2010). 'The Peace and Security Council of the African Union: from design System. *Security, Reconstruction, and Reconciliation: When the Wars End*, 247-275.
- Tar, U. A., & Sunday, A. (2017). Military Alliance and Counter-Terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Multi-National Joint Task Force in Perspective. *Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs*, 5(2).
- Tar, U. A.; Mustapha, M. (2017). The Emerging Architecture of a Regional Security Complex in the Lake Chad Basin: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, *Africa Development*, Vol. XLII No.3, 2017.
- Tardy, T. (2015). United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR—Bosnia and Herzegovina). In *The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*.
- Tejpar, J., & de Albuquerque, A. L. (2015). Challenges to Peace and Security in West Africa: The Role of ECOWAS. *Studies in African Security*, FOI Memo, 5382.
- Thakur, R. (2016). *The United Nations, peace and security: from collective security to the responsibility to protect*. Cambridge University Press.
- Thakur, R. (2017). *The United Nations, peace and security: from collective security to the responsibility to protect*. Cambridge University Press.
- The Responsibility to Protect, ICISS, (International Development Research Centre for ICISS, Ottawa 2001).
- Themner, L., & Wallenstein, P. (2014. Jul). 'Armed Conflicts, 1946-2013'. *Journal of Peace*
- Thomas Fess, "Boko Haram: Can regional force beat Nigeria's militant Islamists?", *BBC News* (3 March 2015).
- Thomas G. Weiss, 2007). *Humanitarian intervention: ideas in action* (Cambridge: Polity Press) pp 116-17.
- Thomas Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention* (Polity Press, Cambridge 2012).
- Thurston A.(2016) West Africa's Regional Force Against Boko Haram is a Political Prop. Retrieved from <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/18605/west-africa-s-regional-force-against-boko-haram-is-a-political-prop>
- Tull, D. M., & Mahler, A. (2005). *The hidden costs of power-sharing: Reproducing insurgent violence in twenty-first century*, *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, 20, 157-177.
- U.N (2013). "United Nations News Centre - Central African Republic: Security Council approves new peacekeeping force". [www.un.org](http://www.un.org). 2013-01-01.

- Umar, Muhammad Sani (2012), The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-Radicalism in Nigeria: A Case Study of Boko Haram, in: Journal of Religion in Africa, 42, 2, 118-144.
- UN (United Nations) 2007. Security Council authorizes deployment of UN-AU 'hybrid' peace operation in bid to resolve Darfur conflict. Resolution 1769, SC/9089. 31 July. New York: UN Department of Public Information, News and Media Division.
- UN Resolution 2085 (2012) African led international mission in Mali, 20 December, 2012. <https://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2012/sc10870.doc.htm>
- UN SC Resolution 1542 (2004), 30 April 2004,
- UN SC Resolution 1894 (2009), 11 November 2009, Preamble, at §5-6.
- UN SC Resolution 1996 (2011), 8 July 2011, at §3(b).
- UN SCOR (1998) Interim Report of the Inter-Agency Mission to Sierra Leone, U.N. SCOR, Annex J[ 3, U.N. Doc. S/1998/1155 (Feb. 25, 1998)
- UN Secretary-General, Implementing the responsibility to protect (A/63/677), New York, NY: UN, 2009.
- UN Security Council, 'Resolution 2127' (S/RES/2127 (2013), New York, 5 December 2013).
- UN urges Military Action against Boko Haram,' *France 24*, January 20, 2015, <m.france24.com/en/2015120-un-security-council-military-action-boko-haram-nigeria> accessed 15 June 2015.
- UN, 2010; UN Secretary-General, the role of regional and sub-regional arrangements in implementing the responsibility to protect (A/65/877-S/2011/393), New York, NY: UN, 2011.
- UNHCR (2017). Regional Protection Strategic Framework - Responding to the protection crisis in the Lake Chad Basin. January 2017 – December 2018. Pg. 16-18
- Union, A. (2013). AFISMA Transfers its Authority to MINUSMA. Press Release. [http://www. peaceau. org/uploads/afisma-transfers-it-authority-to-minusma-01-july-2013. pdf](http://www.peaceau.org/uploads/afisma-transfers-it-authority-to-minusma-01-july-2013.pdf).
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1744 (2007), Adopted by the Security Council at its 5633rd meeting, on 20 February 2007*
- Uzonyi, G. (2015). Refugee flows and state contributions to post-Cold War UN peacekeeping missions. Journal of Peace Research, 52(6), 743-757.
- Van Dongen, T. W. (2011). *Break it down: An alternative approach to measuring effectiveness in counterterrorism*. Journal of Applied Security Research, 6(3), 357-371.



- Violence or Greater Peace': Paper. Retrieved from <https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Paper246.pdf> on 20/2/2016.
- Volsky, A. (2007). Reconciling human rights and state sovereignty, justice and the law, in humanitarian interventions. EDITORS'NOTE, 3(1), 40. VT: Ashgate Publishers.
- Walter BF, Snyder J, eds. (1999). Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
- Walther, O., & Leuprecht, C. (2015). Mapping and deterring violent extremist networks in North-West Africa. Department of Border Region Studies Working Paper Series Working Paper No. 04/15
- Welz, M. (2014). Briefing: Crisis in the Central African Republic and the international response. *African affairs*, 113(453), 601-610.
- Welz, M. (2016). Multi-actor peace operations and inter-organizational relations: insights from the Central African Republic. *International peacekeeping*, 23(4), 568-591.
- Wheeler, N. J. (2000). *Saving strangers: Humanitarian intervention in international society*. OUP Oxford.
- Whitaker, B. E. (2010). *Compliance among weak states: Africa and the counter-terrorism regime*. Review
- Wiklund, C. H., & Ingerstad, G. (2015). The Regionalisation of Peace Operations in Africa. *FOI-R--SE. Swedish Defense Research Agency*.
- Williams, P. D. (2017). Global and regional peacekeepers: Trends, opportunities, risks and a way ahead. *Global Policy*, 8(1), 124-129.
- Williams, P. D., & Bellamy, A. J. (2012). Principles, politics, and prudence: Libya, the responsibility to protect, and the use of military force. *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, 18(3), 273-297.
- Wills, S. (2009) *Protecting Civilians: The Obligations of Peacekeepers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 51-71
- Winsor, M. (2015). Boko Haram update: Nigerian president Buhari visits Cameroon to discuss coalition force. *International Business Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.ibtimes.com/boko-haram-update-nigerian-president-buhari-visitscameroon-discuss-coalition-force-2029626>
- World Summit Outcome, (WSO), adopted by the Assembly on 24 October 2005, A/RES/60/1, para 139.
- [www.dw.com](http://www.dw.com), Deutsche Welle. "[Lake Chad: Climate change fosters terrorism | Africa | DW | 07.12.2015](#)". DW.COM.

[www.peaceau.org/en/article/experts-meeting-on-the-elaboartion-of-operational-documents-for-the-multinational-joint-task-force-mnjtf-of-the-member-states-of-the-lake-chad-Basin-commission-and-benin-against-the-boko-haram-terrorist-group](http://www.peaceau.org/en/article/experts-meeting-on-the-elaboartion-of-operational-documents-for-the-multinational-joint-task-force-mnjtf-of-the-member-states-of-the-lake-chad-Basin-commission-and-benin-against-the-boko-haram-terrorist-group)> accessed on 4 June 2015.

Yamashita, H. (2016). Debating peacekeeping cooperation at multiple levels. *International Peacekeeping*, 23(2), 358-362.

Yoram Dinstein, War, aggression, and self-defence (5th ed Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011) 73- 75, paras 195 -198

Zamfir, I. (2017). Regional Efforts to fight Boko Haram. European Parliamentary Research Service. At a Glance. February 2017.

Zamfir, I. (March 2015), 'African-led Counter-Terrorism Measures against Boko Haram,'  
<[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/551302/EPRS\\_ATA\(2015\)551302\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/551302/EPRS_ATA(2015)551302_EN.pdf)> accessed on 5 June 2015, p. 2.



## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

AHQ DAPP/G1/300/51



**Headquarters**  
Nigerian Army  
Ministry of Defence  
Area 7 Garki,  
Abuja.  
Tel: 0909 472 6873  
E-mail: ahq.dapp@army.mil.ng

Mr Abdullahi Adamu  
School of International Studies  
College of Law, Government  
and International Studies,  
University Utara Malaysia  
Sintok Kedah  
**MALAYSIA**  
(08094913221, 08058631610)

6 April 2018

Dear Sir

**RE: REQUEST FOR A BRIEF INTERVIEW WITH A FORMER THEATRE  
COMMANDER OPERATION ZAMAN LAFIYA DOLE: (GEN TAHIR)**

1. I am directed to acknowledge your letter dated 3 April 2018 on the above mentioned subject and to respectfully convey approval for your request. You are to liaise with Major JA Timbuak on 08036770356 to fix an appointment with the senior officer.

2. Please accept the esteemed regards of the Chief of Army Staff.

Yours faithfully-

  
OG ONUBOGU

Brigadier General  
for Chief of Policy and Plans

Copy to:

Office of the Chief of Army staff



PUSAT PENGAJIAN ANTARABANGSA  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (SOIS)  
UUM Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerjaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa  
UUM College of Law, Government and International Studies  
Universiti Utara Malaysia  
06010 UUM SINTOK  
KEDAH DARUL AMAN  
MALAYSIA



Tel: 604-928 8451  
Faks (Fax): 604-928 8476  
Laman Web (Web): <http://sois.uum.edu.my>  
Emel (Email): [sois@uum.edu.my](mailto:sois@uum.edu.my)

**KEDAH AMAN MAKMUR .BERSAMA MEMACU TRANSFORMASI**

Our Ref: UUM/COLGIS/SOIS: 902122  
Date: 01 January, 2018

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

Dear Sir/Madam,

**DATA COLLECTION FOR PHD THESIS**

This is to certify that Abdullahi Adamu (Matric No: 902122) is a full time PhD student at Universiti Utara Malaysia, Sintok, Kedah.

He needs to collect data for his research paper in order to fulfil the requirement of his PhD program.

We duly hope that your organization will be able to assist him in getting the necessary information for his research paper.

Thank you.

**"KNOWLEDGE, VIRTUE, SERVICE"**

Yours faithfully

(DR. LAILA SURIYA AHMAD APANDI)  
Senior Lecturer  
School of International Studies  
Email: [laila@uum.edu.my](mailto:laila@uum.edu.my)  
Tel: 04-928 8478

Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government  
Universiti Utara Malaysia  
Website: [www.gsgg.uum.edu.my](http://www.gsgg.uum.edu.my)  
E-mail: [gsgg@uum.edu.my](mailto:gsgg@uum.edu.my)









